





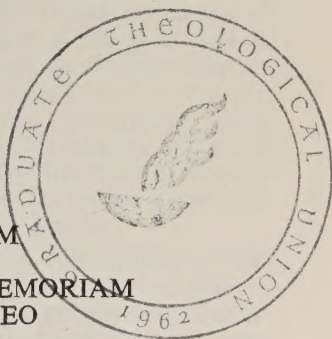
SAINT BEDE IN THE TRADITION OF  
WESTERN APOCALYPTIC COMMENTARY

*by*

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Jarrow Lecture 1966

AD DEI GLORIAM  
NECNON ET  
IN MATRIS DILECTAE MEMORIAM  
QVAE FAVENTE DEO  
ADESSE POTVIT  
CVM HAEC PRONVNTIAVI




Christus est stella matutina, qui, nocte  
saeculi transacta, lucem vitae sanctis  
promittit et pandit aeternam.

Baeda, *In Apocalypsim* ii. 28.



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## SAINT BEDE IN THE TRADITION OF WESTERN APOCALYPTIC COMMENTARY

In taking as my subject St Bede as a commentator on the Book of Revelation, I am aware that I am dealing with an aspect of his work which does not, generally, excite much interest. Posterity regards Bede primarily as the historian of the English Church, and justifiably so. Nevertheless, we would do well to remind ourselves of two facts. First, that although Bede is the greatest English ecclesiastical historian, his *Ecclesiastical History* was read, not only in its homeland but on the mainland of Europe as well, as may be seen from the large number of surviving manuscripts of European origin.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, although today we consider Bede to have been first and foremost an ecclesiastical historian, it does not follow that his own age shared our opinion or that it was mistaken in not doing so. The values of one age differ from those of another, and if the Middle Ages thought of Bede as being above all else a teacher of Christian doctrine and an expositor of the Word of God, it is not for us to regard this as evidence of a lack of critical standards. 'Later generations', says Sir Frank Stenton, 'considering the long series of Bede's commentaries, placed him in the succession of the great Fathers of the Church. He himself would certainly have wished to be remembered by these works of exposition.'<sup>2</sup> It is this consideration which has determined my choice of subject, and I ask you to join me this evening in thinking of Bede as a European rather than as an English figure, and as writing within an established tradition of exegesis, to which he made his own contribution, but without enjoying the rather solitary preëminence which he has obtained as an historian. I hope that this enquiry will show how much Bede was an inheritor of the general tradition of western Christian thought, even though he never, so far as we know, left England and rarely stirred from the vicinity of Jarrow.

To do this I am going to discuss Bede's commentary of the Apocalypse, and here I must warn you of a difficulty which at present confronts any student of Bede's theological writings: the unsatisfactory character of our available texts. For most of these we have to rely upon the labours of the Rev. Dr. J. A. Giles, an indefatigable but undiscriminating editor, in whom energy was not tempered with discretion. In a review of another of Giles' ventures – his edition of the correspondence of Thomas Becket – the English historian E. A. Freeman observed, with the devastating candour of the Victorian reviewer: 'We suppose we must allow the praises of zeal and research to a man who has edited, translated, and written more books than any other living English scholar. But really we can give him no other praise,' and he went on to emphasise his point by remarking: 'The Letters [of Becket] of course are invaluable; at least they will be when anyone shall be found to edit them decently.'<sup>3</sup> It would be unkind to apply Freeman's verdict to Giles' edition of Bede without qualification. His edition – at least so far as the commentary on the Apocalypse is concerned – is sufficient for practical purposes. Unfortunately, for



any detailed study of the text it is unsatisfactory, not only because it lacks any reference to original manuscripts, but also because no attempt is made to indicate the sources used by Bede, which would help us to estimate both the range of his reading and his personal contribution to the commentary. Giles' edition appeared in 1844.<sup>4</sup> It was reprinted by the Abbé Migne in 1850 in the *Patrologia Latina*,<sup>5</sup> and no one familiar with Migne's editorial practice will suppose that Giles' text underwent any particular improvement at his hands. The Migne edition, which is in effect Giles', is the text most readily available today, and it is high time it was replaced. As long ago as 1912 Alexander Souter, in the preface to the first edition of a small but valuable book on the Text and Canon of the New Testament, expressed a desire to 'allure some Churchmen from the fascinating pursuit of liturgiology, and some Nonconformists from the equally if not more fascinating pursuit of speculative theology, to the study . . . of the abundant manuscript materials which exist for the writing of the history of the Latin Bible. Why, for instance,' asked Souter, 'should we still lack a scientific edition of the biblical commentaries of our countryman, the Venerable Bede? The materials exist in abundance and are of superlative quality.'<sup>6</sup> Unhappily, Souter's invitation went unheeded, and in 1964 my predecessor in these Lectures, Dom Paul Meyvaert, was compelled to observe: ' . . . we lack in particular fully annotated editions of Bede's works, especially of the Scriptural commentaries, listing all the known sources from which he borrowed, and therefore showing us in what sections Bede is most at his own.'<sup>7</sup> This neglect of Bede is a reproach to English scholarship, and one cannot help feeling that if he had been a native of certain other European countries, a commission would long ago have been established for the publication of Bede's works as a whole, instead of leaving matters to the efforts of individual scholars. [Since this lecture was delivered, I have learned that a critical edition of Bede's commentary is being prepared by Professor H. F. D. Sparks of Oriel College, Oxford, for the series *Corpus Christianorum*.]

To turn now to our immediate theme. Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse stands a little apart from his other Biblical commentaries, in that it deals with a book which has a peculiar place in the history of western biblical criticism. The Revelation of St. John the Divine is generally regarded as one of the most mysterious books of the New Testament. A series of majestic and terrible visions reveals the ending of the world, the coming of the Antichrist and his overthrow, the Last Judgement, and the final peace of the New Jerusalem. The confident and authoritative tone of Revelation, not to speak of the fierce note of exultation which informs it, have long been an embarrassment to some Christians and no doubt partly account for the reluctance shown in certain sections of the early Church to receive it into the Canon of Scripture, although nobody went quite so far as the late Professor A. N. Whitehead, who wanted to remove it from the Bible and replace it by the oration on the Athenian dead, which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Pericles, and which Whitehead considered more edifying reading. Whitehead's objection to the Apocalypse was inspired by the

'barbaric elements which have been retained to the undoing of Christian intuition.'<sup>8</sup> No doubt many educated Christians in the early Church felt much the same, although they would not have expressed themselves in such words. Fortunately for posterity, the intellectual and practical problems raised by Revelation could be resolved by the method of allegorical interpretation associated with Origen and Alexandrian Christian thought. However, even when this treatment had been applied, the problem of the authorship remained, and a good textual critic like Dionysius of Alexandria could point out that the Greek style of the Apocalypse was not that of the Gospel and First Epistle of St. John, whom some claimed as its author.<sup>9</sup> With its apostolic authority doubtful, and the general tone reminiscent of a certain type of apocryphal literature like the Apocalypse of Peter,<sup>10</sup> the Book of Revelation was accepted by Eastern Christians only after hesitations and heart-searching, and to this day the Greek Orthodox Church while receiving it into the Canon of Scripture, does not employ it for liturgical purposes.

In the West it was otherwise. The fact that western Christians read the Apocalypse in Latin translation prevented them from entertaining doubts about the Johannine authorship.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, there seems to have been in Latin Christianity – at least in North Africa, the cradle and nurse of Latin theology – a stern, enthusiastic element, to which the visions of the Apocalypse made an immense appeal. Finally, in the Fourth century, African Christianity produced in Tyconius a theologian capable of directing the course of Latin Apocalyptic commentary for eight centuries, by developing a method of typological exegesis which long remained the standard form.

The measure of Tyconius' achievement is better appreciated if it is remembered that he was not the first in the field. That distinction belongs to Victorinus, bishop of Poetovio (the modern Pettau), who was martyred under Diocletian in 304. Victorinus was apparently of Greek origins, with only a limited command of Latin.<sup>12</sup> He was one of the last orthodox exponents of the millenarianist belief in a literal thousand-year reign of Christ upon earth before the Judgement, and his commentary was coloured by his convictions. Because of this, St. Jerome subsequently carried out a revision of Victorinus, removing his more extreme millenarianistic passages and replacing them with various additions, some of which he borrowed from Tyconius.<sup>13</sup> It would appear that Bede had at his disposal a copy of Jerome's revision of Victorinus when he wrote his commentary on the Apocalypse, but it does not appear to have influenced his own interpretation to any great degree. This is not surprising for, despite the support of Jerome's authority, the work of Victorinus had little influence upon Latin Apocalyptic commentary in the Middle Ages, when compared with that exercised by Tyconius.

This remarkable man was a native of North Africa and a member of the Donatist Church – the powerful, schismatic group which had broken with the Catholic Church on the question of the validity of sacraments administered by *traditores* – clerics who had surrendered



copies of the Scriptures to the pagan authorities during the persecution of the early Fourth century. The dates of Tyconius' life are uncertain; he was writing in the last two decades of the Fourth century.<sup>14</sup> He was by far the most original and interesting mind which Donatism produced, and thanks to the admiration of St. Augustine of Hippo, he exercised great influence on the theology of many Catholic writers to whom his ecclesiastical views were profoundly repulsive. The essence of Tyconius' genius was two-fold. First he was one of those theologians – St. Ambrose was another – who helped to adapt the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture, so popular in the East, to the service of western theology. Secondly, he was able to develop the Donatist doctrine of the two churches – the true Church of God, visibly present in themselves, and the Church of the false Christians, the *traditores*, which they conceived the Catholics to be – into something more profound and more subtle: the doctrine of the two Cities, the City of God, the Elect, and the City of the Devil, the Reprobate.<sup>15</sup> The importance of Tyconius' teaching lay in his view of the Church. Unlike most Donatists, he held that a separation of good and evil was impossible in this world; the Church Militant is, and must be, a mixed body, which contains both saints and sinners, who will be visibly distinguished only at the Last Judgement. One might suppose that such an outlook would have led Tyconius to leave the Donatists and join the Catholics, and St. Augustine thought him mad not to have done so.<sup>16</sup> What Tyconius had in mind, however, was less to question the propriety of separating from deliberate and open sinners, such as he conceived the *traditores* to have been, as to reject the Donatist idea of the infection incurred by association with sinners, which led the Donatists to hold that overseas churches in communion with the Catholics of Africa had become partners in their original act of *traditio* and must therefore be rejected. Logically, no doubt, Augustine was right, and Tyconius' views ought to have led him to the Catholic Church; but he is not the only thinker to decline to be governed by a rigorous logic. The originality of his doctrine caused Tyconius to be rejected and excommunicated by the Donatist Church, but he never, apparently, became a Catholic.

It is these two elements in the thought of Tyconius: his allegorical interpretation of Scripture, and his conception of the two supernatural Cities of God and Satan, which determined the form of his commentary on Revelation in which, in the words of the Fifth-century ecclesiastical writer Gennadius, he understood 'nothing carnally but everything spiritually.'<sup>17</sup> An example of his technique is provided by his treatment of Rev. xii. 4 – the vision of the great red dragon whose tail *drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth* – a vision which is commonly understood to imply that a third part of the angelic host participated in Lucifer's rebellion and shared his fall. Tyconius, 'in his fashion,' says Bede, regarded the third part of the stars that fell as signifying the fall of false brethren within the Church, while of the remaining two-thirds one part is the true Church and the other her open enemies.<sup>18</sup>



I have called Tyconius' method of exegesis allegorical, but it is in fact better described as typological, since Tyconius interpreted the visions of the Apocalypse within a fixed pattern of thought – the struggle of the true Church, the City of God, against the City of the Devil, whose members include both open enemies of the Church without and false friends within. A similar principle governs Tyconius' seven rules for understanding Holy Scripture, which are quoted by Bede (who got them second-hand from St. Augustine) in his commentary on the Apocalypse. Particularly important are Tyconius' first rule, *Of the Lord and His Body*, which explains that Scripture often speaks of Christ the Head by referring to His Body, the Church, and *vice versa*, and the seventh, *Of the devil and his body*, which declares that the devil is often mentioned, not in himself but in the mass of his sinful followers.<sup>19</sup> Tyconius understands the Book of Revelation not so much as prophecy of the End of the World than as an image of the history of the Church in the World, in other words, not eschatologically but as theology of history.<sup>20</sup> This is not to imply that Tyconius did not believe in the immediate Second Coming of the Lord – on the contrary, he apparently considered that it was soon to be expected<sup>21</sup> – but he did not allow this belief to condition his treatment of the Apocalypse, with the result that the millenarianistic tendencies which had appeared in the commentary of Victorinus disappeared from subsequent Latin Apocalyptic commentary. The objection to Millenarianism lay not so much in its literal acceptance of the account of a thousand-year reign of Christ with His saints on earth – St. Augustine of Hippo, who denounced Millenarianism, does not object to the idea as such, which he had himself once held – as in the materialistic notion of the character of that reign of the saints which it encouraged.<sup>22</sup> The merit of Tyconius was that his exegesis made such crude literalism impossible, while at the same time leaving intact the sense of an immediate expectation of the end of the world, which was to haunt the Middle Ages. This sense of immediacy, although rejected by St. Augustine in the Fifth Century,<sup>23</sup> reappears in the Sixth in the thought of St. Gregory the Great, faced with the horrors of the Lombardic invasion of Italy,<sup>24</sup> and finds expression in the letter which he sent in 601 to King Ethelbert of Kent, which Bede reproduced in the *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>25</sup> Bede himself shared Gregory's belief regarding the imminence of the Second Coming, and while he accepted St. Augustine's view that one cannot determine the day and the hour, he was quite certain that the end of time was close at hand.<sup>26</sup> We shall return to this aspect of his thought later.

The success of Tyconius as a commentator was immense. For eight hundred years his method of interpretation dominated all commentary on the Book of Revelation. His success is the more remarkable when we remember that Tyconius was not an orthodox writer but a schismatic, separated from the Catholic Church. Because of his Donatism he might well have been expected to fall into oblivion after his death, and his continuing influence was largely due to the recommendations of St. Augustine, who greatly admired his writings, and Cassiodorus, who was more reserved in his estimate.<sup>27</sup> Augustine,

however, was unstinting in his praise, and paid Tyconius the compliment of transcribing a considerable portion of his Rules for understanding Scripture into his work, the *De Doctrina Christiana*,<sup>28</sup> from which Bede, in turn, incorporated them into his commentary on the Apocalypse.<sup>29</sup>

In view of the esteem which Tyconius enjoyed and the influence which he exercised upon succeeding generations, it is curious that (so far as is known) no manuscript of his commentary has survived. It appears from the oldest catalogue of the library of the famous Swiss monastery of St. Gall that a copy was to be found there in the Ninth century,<sup>30</sup> but this is the last clue that we have. There are, it is true, in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Turin some fragments of a commentary on the Apocalypse from the Italian monastery of Bobbio, presented by the Coptic scholar Amadeo Peyron, and first published in 1897 by the Benedictines of Monte Cassino, under the title *Tyconii Afri Fragmenta Commentarii in Apocalypsim*.<sup>31</sup> However, this attribution to Tyconius (which is not to be found in the Fragments themselves) presents many difficulties, since there occur in the Fragments theological statements which are directly contrary to Tyconius' principles. A suggestion has been made by the late Francesco Lo Bue, whose edition of the Fragments appeared in 1963,<sup>32</sup> that these discordant statements may perhaps be interpolations, made in the Catholic interest to adapt Tyconius' popular commentary for orthodox use. This suggestion is a pure hypothesis, and Lo Bue frankly admitted that he could not bring forward any argument amounting to proof. However, whether or not Lo Bue's theory is accepted, it is clear that the Turin Fragments have Tyconian affinities, and collation with Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse shows that the two documents agree exactly in a number of passages. The fact that Bede used a copy of Tyconius when compiling his own commentary strongly suggests that the passages which he has in common with the Turin Fragments are indeed of Tyconian origin.

One fact is to be recorded regarding the Turin Fragments which is significant for determining their place in the tradition of Western Apocalyptic commentary. Amadeo Peyron who, as has been said, presented the Fragments to the Biblioteca Nazionale of Turin, assigned the writing to the Thirteenth century. This dating was accepted by Lo Bue, who rather curiously described the hand as being 'book-gothic'.<sup>33</sup> In fact it is nothing of the kind, being a caroline minuscule hand of the first half of the Tenth century, which Professor Bernhard Bischoff assigns to upper Italy<sup>34</sup> – a locality which agrees very well with the known Bobbio provenance of the Fragments. In this context, however, it is relevant to recall that there was a copy of Tyconius at St. Gall in the Ninth century, and that close historic ties existed between Bobbio and St. Gall.<sup>35</sup> In fact, the correct dating of the Fragments enables us to place them in their proper context in the tradition of Latin Apocalyptic commentary: they were copied within the period of the intellectual dominance of Tyconius, namely from the Fourth to the Twelfth century, and more specifically just after two centuries of pronounced interest in the Book of Revelation, represented in the



writings of Bede and Ambrosius Autpertus in the Eighth century and the Carolingian theologians in the Ninth.

Let us now consider briefly the transmission of the Tyconian tradition from Tyconius to Bede. We have already seen that St. Jerome, disliking the Millenarianism of the commentary of Victorinus, had redrafted it, and in so doing made use of Tyconius. However, the Victorine-Hieronymian commentary does not lie in the main stream of the Tyconian tradition. For this we must look to two groups of theologians, one writing in the Sixth and the other in the Eighth century.

The middle of the Sixth century saw the production of three commentaries on the Apocalypse, written in Gaul, Spain, and North Africa respectively. The first of these was the work of St. Caesarius, bishop of Arles (d. 542), and was destined to have a curious history. Caesarius of Arles, one of the outstanding preachers of the early Church, was an admirer of St. Augustine, from whose works he drew not only inspiration but also material, and it is therefore neither inappropriate nor surprising that a group of his homilies on the Apocalypse, nineteen in number, have come down to us under the name of Augustine. That Caesarius was the real author of these pseudo-Augustinian homilies was demonstrated in the Eighteenth century by the Abbé J.B. Morel (d. 1772), a fine scholar whose abilities never received the recognition they deserved. Morel's researches passed unnoticed, and it was left to the late Dom Germain Morin finally to affirm the Caesarian authorship of the homilies and to edit them critically in his edition of Caesarius' works.<sup>36</sup> For our purposes, the importance of Caesarius' commentary lies in the fact that it drew heavily upon Tyconius.

The second Sixth-century commentary is that of Apringius, bishop of Pax Julia (the modern Béja in Portugal), written at some time between 531 and 548. This work, which survives today in one manuscript at Copenhagen, published by Dom Férotin in 1900,<sup>37</sup> made use of the Victorinus-Jerome commentary, and was in its turn utilised by Beatus of Liebana for his commentary compiled in the Eighth century. It is not, however, of great significance for the Bedan scholar.

Far more important is the third of our Sixth-century commentators, Primasius, bishop of Hadrumetum (the modern Sousse, in Tunisia), who died in 552. Primasius, who was much used by Bede, tells his readers that he based his work in the first place upon the writings of St. Augustine, to which he added whatever he could discover in Tyconius congruent with true doctrine, acting on the principle (in his own elegant phraseology) that a precious jewel which has fallen on a dung-heap ought to be picked up and treated with the respect due to its value.<sup>38</sup> Because of his influence on Bede, and through Bede on the early Middle Ages, the commentary of Primasius is of great importance, and it is unfortunate that we still lack a critical edition, although I am glad to say that the Rev. A. W. Adams, Dean of Divinity of Magdalen College, Oxford, has almost completed one.

The earliest known manuscript of Primasius (Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce MS. 140) is assigned by Professor Lowe to the Seventh or Eighth century, and described as being 'written certainly in some centre with Insular traditions and probably in England, as script, corrections, and manner of pricking show,'<sup>39</sup> and most of the other manuscripts come from monasteries founded by English or Irish monks. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that we should find Bede using Primasius or that the earliest manuscript should probably be of English origin. Unfortunately the Migne edition of Primasius, which is the text most readily available for the purposes of comparison with Bede, seems to be based on an apparently mutilated text, resembling that of a Ninth-century manuscript from Corbie, now at Paris (B.N. MS. 13390).<sup>40</sup> A collation of the text of Bede's commentary with that of Primasius as given in the Migne edition (*PL* lxxviii, 793 D-936 D) makes it clear that Bede transcribed a considerable part of his commentary *verbatim* from Primasius, but it is not possible to establish from this the type of text which he used. For this we must await the publication of Mr. Adams' edition.

Victorinus of Pettau as revised by Jerome; Tyconius; Caesarius of Arles; Apringius of Béja; and Primasius of Hadrumetum – these are the commentators on the Apocalypse who wrote before Bede and were available as his guides. In fact, he seems to have used only Victorinus-Jerome, Tyconius and Primasius. Nevertheless, in discussing Bede's sources we cannot ignore the commentary of Caesarius, since although not consulted by Bede, it can be used, because of its direct quotations from Tyconius, to identify the same quotations in Bede's commentary. The process is laborious, but rewarding.

Before looking more closely at Bede's commentary, we must mention two commentators who wrote after him, but who are relevant to our enquiry on account of their value as witnesses to the text of Tyconius. The first is the Italian abbot Ambrosius Autpertus (d. 778/779), who produced a commentary of enormous length, based principally upon Primasius, but with reference to all the other available commentators. His work is available only in an edition published at Lyons in 1677.<sup>41</sup> The second author is the Spaniard Beatus of Liebana, whose commentary was written about 786. Beatus was a writer of very little originality, who contented himself with reproducing lengthy quotations from the writings of his predecessors, among them Tyconius, for whose text he is generally reckoned our best source.<sup>42</sup> The commentary of Beatus enjoyed great popularity in Spain, where it inspired a famous group of illuminated manuscripts, of which more than twenty have survived, to the delight of the art historian.<sup>43</sup>

We may now turn to Bede's own commentary. This is probably the earliest of his commentaries on Scripture, and seems to have been written between 703 and 709. It is dedicated to Hwaetberct, who succeeded Ceolfrid as Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow in 716, to whom Bede also dedicated the *De Temporum Ratione*, and who was called by his brethren Eusebius, on account of his piety.<sup>44</sup> The work, Bede says,



was deliberately kept short from consideration of the national inertia of the English who – at least in Bede's experience – could not be troubled to read long books.<sup>45</sup> Whether because of its brevity or from some other cause, Bede's commentary proved popular. Professor Laistner has listed no fewer than 73 manuscripts,<sup>46</sup> and although his list is not wholly reliable, having at least one manuscript wrongly ascribed to Bede,<sup>47</sup> there can be no doubt that the total number surviving is very considerable.

Since the commentary on the Apocalypse is probably to be dated between 703 and 709, it is therefore one of Bede's earlier works, written when he was in his thirties. It is characterised by a dependence on earlier writers from whom, in fact, Bede reproduced considerable sections word for word. Thus, in the preface, when he quotes the seven Rules of Tyconius for understanding the Scriptures, Bede takes the appropriate passages from St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*, amounting to more than 550 words.<sup>48</sup> Again, in a discussion regarding the sealing of the twelve tribes of Israel (Rev. vii. 5 – 8) Bede, in a passage of 550 words, takes some 390 directly from Primasius.<sup>49</sup> These are two extreme cases, but quotations of passages of 50 – 60 words are common enough,<sup>50</sup> and there can be no question of the extent to which Bede reproduces from his authorities, frequently (though not invariably) without acknowledgement. Bede is not to be blamed for this method of composition, which is familiar to every reader of the earlier pages of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and which he makes no attempt to deny. As he says in a letter to his friend Acca, his extracts are made for the poor and unlearned, who have neither the money to own a large library nor the learning to use one if they had.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, as Dom Meyvaert has observed, Bede generally shows more sense of literary proprietorship than many medieval writers.<sup>52</sup>

Furthermore, although Bede borrowed from others, he fitted what he took into a plan which was his own. He is no mere anthologist. It may well be, as Professor Laistner says, that 'the commentary on the Apocalypse probably contains far less of Bede's ideas than do some of his later works,' and it is certain that 'in expounding the last book of the New Testament canon, which lent itself so particularly to allegorical interpretation, he had had many predecessors,'<sup>53</sup> but the attentive reader will find in the commentary passages which, one feels, only Bede would have written. One such passage must surely be the exposition of Rev. ii. 28: *And I will give him the morning star*. Victorinus, followed by Jerome, had understood the morning star to mean the first resurrection (Rev. xx. 5, 6). Tyconius – or so I assume, for the explanation is found alike in the Turin Fragments, Apringius, Primasius and Bede himself (Apringius and Primasius in addition mention the explanation of Victorinus-Jerome that the morning star is the first resurrection) – had understood the morning star to be Christ. Bede accepts the Tyconian exegesis, but his comment upon it is his own. 'Christ is the morning star who, when the night of this world is ended, promises and discloses to the saints the eternal light of life.'<sup>54</sup> Or consider the comment on Rev. xix. 9: *Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb*. 'Those therefore who come

to the refreshment of heavenly contemplation, when the time of this present life is ended, are assuredly called to the marriage feast of the Lamb.'<sup>55</sup> Both these passages in turn recall—to me at least—the account given many years later in the *Ecclesiastical History* of the words of the young nun, dying of the plague at Barking Abbey in 664, who saw her cell full of heavenly light: 'I know you think I speak deliriously, but understand that this is not so, for I tell you truly that I see such a light that your lamp seems to me in every way to be but darkness . . . . Burn then your lamp as long as you will, but know that it is not for me, for my light will come to me when the dawn breaks.'<sup>56</sup>

One may regret that passages of this nature rarely occur in Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse, and that he is frequently content to employ the words of other men. Nevertheless, even this practice has its advantages, since it enables us to estimate the extent of Bede's reading and, in consequence, the contents of the library which Benedict Biscop had built up at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, the fruit of his many visits to the Continent. The subject has already been discussed by Professor Laistner in a masterly essay,<sup>57</sup> to which I will add only a few points of detail.

Bede's commentary, as we have already seen, draws upon three earlier commentators: Victorinus-Jerome, Tyconius, and Primasius. Besides these, Bede used certain works of Augustine: the *De Doctrina Christiana*,<sup>58</sup> the *De Civitate Dei* (which had also been used by Primasius, but Bede consulted it independently),<sup>59</sup> the *De Sancta Virginitate*,<sup>60</sup> and the *Tractates on the Gospel of St. John*.<sup>61</sup> Of the works of St. Gregory the Great, his favourite writer, Bede quotes from the *Homilies on Ezekiel*<sup>62</sup> and the *Moralia in Job*.<sup>63</sup> Of St. Jerome's writings he cites a passage from the commentary on Daniel,<sup>64</sup> and apparently refers to the commentary on Isaiah.<sup>65</sup> He also has a quotation from St. Cyprian which I have not identified,<sup>66</sup> and appears to quote from, and certainly used, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.<sup>67</sup> He also had at his disposal, as Miss Rosemary Cramp observed last year, Rufinus' Latin version of the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius of Caesarea,<sup>68</sup> from which he obtained his reference to Clement of Alexandria's account of the origin of the Nicolaitans (Rev. ii. 15).<sup>69</sup> From the same source he presumably obtained his quotation of the famous saying of St. Ignatius: 'I am the wheat of God and I am ground by the teeth of beasts that I may be made pure bread.'<sup>70</sup> A reference to Dionysius of Alexandria also comes from Rufinus.<sup>71</sup>

These sources of Bede's Commentary are only those which can be identified directly from his text and there is no doubt that he had other books available when he went to work. The long excursus on the precious stones which adorn the foundations of the wall of the New Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 19, 20)<sup>72</sup> seems to be based on some treatise on gems which I have not identified. Professor Laistner suggests that this was Pliny,<sup>73</sup> but my own feeling is that the author was a Christian writer. One obvious candidate is the old Latin version of St. Epiphanius' treatise on gems, but collation does not confirm this identification.

There can, however, be no doubt that Bede's main guides in composing his commentary were Primasius and Tyconius, supported



by Victorinus-Jerome and the passages in Book XX of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* which deal with the Last Judgement. If we consider only the quantity of material incorporated into his text, Bede would appear to have been most greatly influenced by Primasius. On the other hand, Primasius is only named once in Bede's commentary,<sup>74</sup> while Tyconius is named no less than ten times. This fact led Professor Laistner to suggest that Bede specifically acknowledged every one of his borrowings from Tyconius' commentary,<sup>75</sup> but I believe that this is not the case and that there is in fact a considerable quantity of unacknowledged Tyconian quotation in Bede. Some of this can be identified by collation with other commentators indebted to Tyconius, like Beatus, Caesarius, and the Tyconian Fragments of Turin, while other passages may be provisionally identified as being by Tyconius because of their agreement with his characteristic theology.<sup>76</sup> By these tests the number of apparently Tyconian citations in Bede becomes so considerable as to imply that Bede had a very genuine admiration for Tyconius' writings. Naturally, he deplored his Donatism; but unlike Primasius he spoke of Tyconius himself with respect<sup>77</sup> and admitted that he had followed the pattern of his commentary in his own work.<sup>78</sup> For this reason I would suggest that Bede's qualitative debt to Tyconius is greater than his quantitative debt to Primasius and regard him as reasserting the Tyconian tradition in Apocalyptic commentary.<sup>79</sup>

We must, however, qualify this statement. Bede took from Tyconius his typological interpretation of the Apocalypse, but he nevertheless held firmly to the principle which he had learned from St. Augustine: that allegorical interpretation cannot be permitted to nullify the literal understanding of the text. We see this principle maintained in Bede's explanation of Rev. xx. 13: *And the sea gave up the dead which were in it, and death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them.* Tyconius had apparently understood by 'the dead of the sea' those who, being dead by reason of their sins, were physically alive at the Last Judgement in the stormy sea of this present world and declared (in one of the passages which Bede gives *verbatim*): 'The peoples whom He will here find living are the dead of the sea. *And death and Hades gave up their dead.* These are the buried nations.' Bede, however, takes care, in giving Tyconius' exegesis, to warn the reader in advance: 'This passage can be taken literally as meaning that all the bodies which the flood has swallowed up or the sea monster devoured will be resurrected.'<sup>80</sup>

Furthermore, we must remember what has already been said: that Bede, following his master Gregory the Great, had constantly in mind the thought of death and of the Last Judgement.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, the representation of the Judgement must have been familiar to his eyes, since he records in his *History of the Abbots* that among the treasures brought back by Benedict Biscop from his fifth visit to Rome were pictures of the Virgin Mary and the twelve Apostles, and of scenes from the Gospels and from the Apocalypse of St. John, all of which were exhibited in Monkwearmouth church so that, according to Bede, 'all those who entered the church even though ignorant of

letters, wherever they turned their gaze might contemplate, even though only in an image, the beloved aspect of Christ and of His saints; or might with more vigilant mind recall the grace of the Incarnation; or else having before their eyes the great danger of the final testing, might remember to try themselves more strictly.'<sup>82</sup> The character of these Apocalypse paintings constitutes a fascinating problem for the art historian, which unfortunately cannot be discussed here. I will only say that from references which Professor Julian Brown has generously communicated to me, it would seem that it may be possible to form some valid impression of the style and character of these Apocalypse paintings in Monkwearmouth church.

Bede then always recognised the validity of the literal acceptance of the text of Holy Scripture and never allowed the allegorical interpretation of the Book of Revelation to diminish his sense imminence of the Second Coming and the awful character of the Last Judgement. These two qualifications made, we may recognise the degree to which he incorporated Tyconius into his text, both in the spirit and in the letter. This is in flat contradiction to the method of Primasius who handled Tyconius (as it were) with the tongs, as an alien and schismatic. Primasius cannot be blamed for this – he wrote at a time when Donatism was still a live issue, and human memories are long and often bitter. Bede, for whom Donatism was a long-dead issue, could afford to take a more detached view of Tyconius' merits. However, whatever the explanation, Bede drew upon Tyconius, and one of the primary desiderata in the study of Bede's commentary is to identify the passages which may be Tyconian in origin.

The method of doing this is fairly simple, though somewhat tedious. It consists of comparing the text of Bede with other authors who are known to have used Tyconius or who appear (as in the case of the Turin Fragments) to be dependent upon him, and to distinguish those passages where they and Bede are in verbal agreement. Such passages may be assumed to have a common ancestor, namely Tyconius. If of course exact verbal agreement is to be found between Bede and more than one of the other authors, the case for identification is correspondingly strengthened. In this context, fruitful results are afforded by the collation of Bede with Caesarius of Arles, Beatus of Liebana, and with the Fragments of Turin. These three sources agree with one another and with Bede surprisingly often – a fact which would seem to substantiate the view that the Fragments derive, directly or indirectly, from the original Tyconian text. The origin of the Turin Fragments is obscure, but one may safely say that no results derived from comparison with Bede in any way invalidate Lo Bue's hypothesis that they represent part of Tyconius' commentary adapted for Catholic use. Furthermore, the fact that on occasion the totality of a passage in Bede can be made up from partial quotations in the text of Caesarius, Beatus and the Fragments, goes far to suggest that Bede regularly reproduced substantial passages from Tyconius' commentary which he was using.

The result of these processes of collation, then, is to confirm the influence of Tyconius' on Bede and to disprove the suggestion of



Professor Laistner that the only occasions when Bede cites Tyconius are those on which he specifically mentions him by name. On the contrary, it appears that Bede frequently quoted Tyconius without acknowledgement, and it would seem that the passages where he mentions him by name are those in which Tyconius' view is either unconventional (as in his explanation of Rev. v. 6 that the Lamb which is slain is the Church),<sup>83</sup> or when he speaks, '*more suo*,' from a Donatist standpoint. On such occasions, one may assume, Bede considered Tyconius' explanation worthy of consideration, but felt it desirable to disclaim any personal responsibility for the views expressed by giving the name of the author. In the case of Primasius this necessity did not arise and, in any case, Bede was well aware that a great deal of his commentary had been taken, without acknowledgement, from the work of abler men. Indeed, on two occasions Bede deliberately quotes Augustine by name in passages where Primasius had given no reference.<sup>84</sup> The only occasion when Bede actually names Primasius is in his discussion of the significance of the number of the Beast (Rev. xiii. 18),<sup>85</sup> where he has already given (this time without acknowledgement) an explanation which he apparently found in Victorinus-Jerome,<sup>86</sup> only in order to complete the interpretations of his predecessors by one of his own: that six hundred and sixty-six is a number of perfection, being the number of talents of gold which came to Solomon annually (I Kings x. 14), which Antichrist usurps to himself through his overweening pride. 'What therefore was lawfully owed to the king as a gift and duly paid, the seducer and tyrant presumes to demand for himself.'<sup>87</sup> Bede would seem to have valued Primasius rather as a quarry for material than as a guide to understanding.

It would seem, then, that Bede is both a disciple of Tyconius as an interpreter of the Book of Revelation and also a valuable source from which the Tyconian commentary may be reconstructed, so far as this is possible with our limited materials. In fact, the provision of a critical edition of Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse will be of value in two related, but nevertheless independent fields of scholarship. In the first place, it will help to supply what every student of Bede earnestly desires: a modern edition of his works, based upon a critical study of the manuscripts, and giving references to all sources employed by Bede, so that we can see what is original in his work and what derivatory. In the second place, such a critical edition will fill a gap in the material employed by the historian of doctrine and medieval culture in tracing the course of the development of the Tyconian tradition of apocalyptic commentary. With critical editions of Primasius and Bede to hand, to reinforce those of Beatus, Caesarius and the Fragments of Turin, it will finally be possible to proceed to the task of reconstructing, so far as may be, the original commentary of Tyconius, by a process of text-collation and the identification of Tyconian passages on theological grounds. When this is done, the material for a major study of Latin Apocalyptic commentary in the early Middle Ages will be available, which will be of interest, not only to theologians, but to students of medieval culture and psychology.

It seems desirable, in concluding this lecture, to speak briefly of the development of the Tyconian tradition in which Bede stands in the centuries which followed his lifetime, down to the Twelfth century, when the typological interpretation which had characterised it began to be superseded by a renewed emphasis on eschatology.<sup>88</sup> The characteristic of the Apocalypse commentaries which followed those of Bede and Aurelius Autpertus was a lack of originality. The scholars of the Carolingian epoch concerned themselves with the construction of a good biblical text whose exegesis was to be based on the Bible itself and the authority of the Fathers of the Church – a tradition which seems to have gone more or less undisputed until Peter Abelard, that *enfant terrible* of the Twelfth century, arose to challenge the arbitrary use of patristic authority in determining theological difficulties. However, from the Ninth to the Twelfth century the authority of tradition prevailed, and theologians based their works upon the writings of their greater predecessors. In the field of Apocalypse commentary there were above all Bede and Ambrosius Autpertus. Of the two, Ambrosius Autpertus' vast commentary offered more material for later writers, and the highly influential commentaries associated with Auxerre, which go under the name of Haimo, drew upon him.<sup>89</sup> The commentary of Bruno, bishop of Segni, written perhaps about 1080/82,<sup>90</sup> seems to indicate a return to Bede, but the extent to which Bruno used him is controversial.<sup>91</sup> In one way, however, Bruno certainly represents a return to Bede, and that is in his acceptance of Bede's division of the text of the Apocalypse. Bede had considered the Book of Revelation as falling into seven sections, namely (1) the letters to the Seven Churches (i. 1 – iii. 22); (2) the Lamb and the seven seals (iv. 1 – viii. 1); (3) the seven angels with their trumpets (viii. 2 – xi. 18); (4) the Woman and the Dragon (xi. 19 – xiv. 20); (5) the seven last plagues (xv. 1 – xvii. 18); (6) the damnation of the Great Harlot (xviii. 1 – xx. 15); and (7) the New Jerusalem (xxi. 1 – xxii. 21).<sup>92</sup> Bede's system had been discarded by 'Haimo' in favour of another system of seven divisions constructed from a ten-division system employed by Ambrosius Autpertus. Bruno, however, reverted to Bede's system of division, which became the standard form for the glossators of the Twelfth century.<sup>93</sup> In terms of his influence upon later writers, it may be held that one of the most important aspects of Bede's work was his discovery of the fundamental significance of the number seven in the construction of the Apocalypse.

A second important legacy from Bede to medieval theology, mentioned in his commentary on the Apocalypse<sup>94</sup> but more fully described in the *De Temporum Ratione*, written in 725,<sup>95</sup> is the doctrine of the Six Ages of the world.<sup>96</sup> This conception, inherited from St. Augustine<sup>97</sup> through Isidore of Seville,<sup>98</sup> saw human history divided into six periods: (1) from Adam to Noah; (2) from Noah to Abraham; (3) from Abraham to David; (4) from David to the Exile; (5) from the Exile to the Incarnation; (6) from the Incarnation to the end of time. The seventh age is the eternal Sabbath of the New Jerusalem, to which there will be no ending. We now live in the sixth age, initiated by the birth of Christ, which will be ended only by the coming of

Antichrist. The significance of this Augustinian division is that it constitutes a further obstacle to any millenarianist doctrine of the thousand-year reign of the saints with Christ. The end of the sixth age, as Bede says, is more obscure than those of the others.<sup>99</sup> We do not know the times and the seasons.

Such was the pattern of the Tyconian tradition of Apocalyptic commentary, among whose exponents Bede is to be numbered, and which dominated western scriptural exegesis from the Fourth century until the Twelfth, when it gave way to another, more eschatological type of interpretation, more in keeping with the apocalyptic atmosphere of the mid-Twelfth century, whose introduction is commonly associated with the name of Joachim of Flora (d. 1202). The older system had served its purpose and today remains a subject of study by the historian rather than a guide to the interpreter of Scripture. Nevertheless, a system which commanded the admiration of Augustine of Hippo and Bede of Jarrow deserves our respect, especially when we recall that it gave significance to a difficult work like the Apocalypse at a time when materials for critical analysis in the manner of modern scholarship were not available. And, let us add, in the hands of a scholar and saint like Bede, the Tyconian system could offer opportunity for moving men's hearts and arousing in them that love of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to which all study of Holy Scriptures should ultimately tend.

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#### NOTES

- 1 M. L. W. Laistner, *A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1943, p. 94.
- 2 F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1947, p. 185.
- 3 E. A. Freeman, 'Saint Thomas of Canterbury and his Biographers,' *National Review*, April 1860, reprinted in *Historical Essays*, London, 1871, pp. 86, 94.
- 4 *Venerabilis Bedae Commentaria in Scripturas sacras*, ed. J. A. Giles, vol. vi, London, 1844.
- 5 Migne, *PL* xciii.
- 6 Alexander Souter, *The Text and Canon of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. revised by C. S. C. Williams, London, 1954, p. vii.
- 7 Paul Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great* (Jarrow Lecture 1964), pp. 14, 15.
- 8 A. N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*, Cambridge, 1933, p. 218.
- 9 Dionysius *apud* Eusebius, *HE* VII, 25. 9 – 27. *CGS: Eusebius Werke*, 2er Bd., 2er Teil (1908), pp. 692–700.
- 10 See E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, ed. by W. Schneemelcher, E. T. by R. McL. Wilson, Vol. II, London, 1965, pp. 663–83.
- 11 Tertullian, although fluent in Greek, has no doubt as to the Johannine authorship of Revelation, e.g. *De Praescr. Haer.*, 33: 'Ioannes vero in Apocalypsi idolothyta edentes et stupra committentes iubet castigare.' *PL* ii, 46 B.
- 12 Hier., *De Vir. Illus.*, 74: 'Victorinus, Petavionensis episcopus, non aequae latine ut graece noverat.' *PL* xxiii, 719 C.



- 13 See Pierre de Labriolle, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne*, 3rd ed. by G. Bardy, Paris, 1947, i. p. 320.
- 14 Gennadius, *De Script. Ecclesiast.*, 18: 'Floruit hic vir aetate qua iam memoratus Ruffinus, Theodosio et filio eius regnantibus.' *PL* lviii. 1072.
- 15 Tyconius *apud* Beatus (ed. Sanders, p. 575): 'Hae duae civitates una mundo et una desiderat servire Christo; una in hoc mundo regnum cupit tenere, et una ab hoc mundo fugere; una tristatur, altera laetatur; una flagellatur, altera flagellatur; una occidit, altera occiditur; una ut iustificetur adhuc, altera ut impie agat adhuc. hae utraeque ita laborant in unum, una ut habeat unde coronetur, altera ut habeat unde damnetur;' *apud* Bede (*PL* xciii, 185 A): 'Duae sunt enim in mundo civitates: una de abyssu, altera de coelestibus oriens.' See T. Hahn, *Tyconius Studien* (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und Kirche), Leipzig, 1900, pp. 25, 29.
- 16 Aug., *De Doct. Christ.*, III, xxx, 42: 'Tichonius quidam qui contra Donatistas invictissime scripsit, cum fuerit donatista, et illic invenitur absurdissimi cordis, ubi eos non omni ex parte relinquere voluit.' *CSEL* lxxx, 104.
- 17 Gennadius, *De Script. Eccles.*, 18: 'Exposuit et Apocalypsin Iohannis ex integro nihil in ea carnale, sed totum intelligens spiritale.' *PL* lviii. 1071.
- 18 Bede, *Expl. Apoc.*, Lib. II: 'Tychonius more suo tertiam partem stellarum quae cecidit falsos fratres interpretatur, quod altera tertia Ecclesia sit, et hostes forinseci tertia.' *PL* xciii, 166 C.
- 19 *Ibid.*, *Praef.* *PL* xciii, 131 B, 132 D.
- 20 See Wilhelm Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie* (Historische Studien, Heft 285), Berlin, 1935, pp. 57 ff.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
- 22 Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, XX, vii. *CSEL* xl (2), 440, 441.
- 23 Aug., *Ep.* 199 *ad Hesychium*. *CSEL* lvii, 243–92. Cf. *De Civ. Dei*, XX, v.
- 24 Raoul Manselli, *La "Lectura super Apocalipsim" di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi: Ricerche sull' escatologismo medioevale* (Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo: Studi storici, Fasc. 19–21), Rome, 1955, pp. 5–16.
- 25 Bede, *HE* I, xxxii (ed. Plummer, p. 69).
- 26 Bede, *In Samuel Prophetam*, IV, viii: '. . . appropinquante mundi termino.' *PL* xci, 704 B. Cf. Manselli, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 27 Cassiodorus, *Institutiones*, I, 9. 3 (ed. Mynors, p. 33).
- 28 Aug., *De Doct. Christ.*, III, xxxi, 44 – xxxvii, 55. *CSEL* lxxx, 106 – 117.
- 29 Bede, *Expl. Apoc.*, *Praef.* *PL* xciii, 131, 132.
- 30 It was no. 224. See C. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiquarum*, Bonn, 1885, p. 48: 'Explanatio tichonii donatistae in Apocalypsim vol. I vetus.'
- 31 *Spicelegium Casinense*, III, 1. Montecassino, 1897, pp. 261–331: *Tyconii Afri Fragmenta Commentarii in Apocalypsim*.
- 32 Francesco Lo Bue, *The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation . . . prepared for the press by G. G. Willis* (Texts and Studies, N.S., Vol. VII), Cambridge, 1963, pp. 35–38.
- 33 *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- 34 In a letter to the author of 22 December 1963: '. . . your doubt about Peyron's dating and Lo Bue's "book-gothic" is only too well justified – the script is pure caroline minuscule. So far as the plates (which seem to be well chosen) illustrate it, there is no sign of admitting those majuscule elements which by and by became reestablished within the minuscule; nor is there any appearance of stylistic symptoms which, even in Italy, essentially transform the script before the 11th century: breaking of the shaft, stiffness, development of sharp initial and final tags, etc. By such aspects must the script be judged since it is, in my opinion, North Italian. Similarly we must consider whether the script, owing to the contrary tendency, possibly lacks specifically caroline characteristics,

through a weak formlessness which also appears in Italy in the 10th century. This is not the case either.

'It must therefore be asked to what period of carolingian writing this MS. can be assigned and what distinctive qualities determine the period. I should consider that these rather plain forms, each taken by itself, can already be expected in the 3rd/4th quarter of the 9th century, even in the relatively upright type of writing seen in the MS., and that these could appear up to the middle of the 10th century. However, what makes me prefer the *first half of the 10th century* as opposed to the end of the 9th is 1) the narrow spacing of the lines, which is more frequent in the 10th century than previously and is not perhaps conditioned by economic factors alone; 2) in the top lines of fol. 5 (Pl. II) the letters are more widely spaced (same hand?). Their placing suggests to me a peculiar lack of elasticity – a symptom of lateness.'

- 35 Lo Bue, op. cit., p. 5.
- 36 Germain Morin, 'Le commentaire homilétique de S. Césaire sur l'Apocalypse,' *Revue Bénédictine* xlv (1933), pp. 43–61; *S. Caesarii Opera Omnia*, ed. G. Morin, Vol. II (Maredsous, 1942), pp. 209–77: *Expositio de Apocalypsi S. Iohannis*.
- 37 *Apringius de Béja: Son commentaire de l'Apocalypse*, ed. Marius Férotin, Paris, 1900.
- 38 Primasius, *Commentarius super Apocalypsim B. Iohannis Libri V, Praef. PL* lxxviii, 793 C.
- 39 E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1935), p. 33, no. 337.
- 40 See A. C. Clarke, *The Descent of Manuscripts*, Oxford, 1918, pp. 105–23.
- 41 *Ambrosii Autperti in Apocalypsim Commentarium* (Bibl. Patr. et antiquor. Script. Ecclesiasticorum, Tom. XXIII), Lyons, 1677, pp. 403–639.
- 42 Hahn, *Tyconius Studien*, p. vii: ' . . . Dabei steht mir fest: den ursprüglichen Kommentar des Tyconius finden wir nur bei Beatus.'
- 43 See Wilhelm Neuss, *Die Apokalypse des hl. Johannes in der altspanischen und altchristlichen Bibel-Illustration* (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft 2–3), Münster, Westphalia, 1951; André Grabar & Carl Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting*, Lausanne: Skira Books, 1957, pp. 161–75.
- 44 Bede, *In Samuel Prophetam*, IV *Praef. PL* xci, 663 D.
- 45 Bede, *In Apoc. Expl., Praef. PL* xciii, 134 A.
- 46 Laistner, *A Handlist of Bede Manuscripts*, p. 25.
- 47 London, British Museum, MS. Harley 223.
- 48 Aug., *De Doct. Christ.*, III, xxxi, 44 – xxxvii, 55. *CSEL* lxxx, 106–17 cited by Bede, *PL* xciii, 131 C – 132 D.
- 49 Bede, *PL* xciii, 151 B: 'Propterea Nephthalim succedit' – 152 C: 'millium summam colligi' citing Primasius, *PL* 847 B – 848 A, 848 B – 849 A.
- 50 e.g. Bede, *PL* xciii, 191 D: 'Tunc solvetur . . . fuerit omnipotens' = Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, XX, viii. *CSEL* xl (2), 445 = Primasius, *PL* lxxviii, 916 A (Bede acknowledges the source of the Augustinian quotation); Bede, 191 A: 'Subauditor . . . certaverunt' = Primasius, 916 D, 917 A; Bede, 194 C D: 'Isto fiet ordine . . . qua Deus eam fecit' = Primasius, 921 B C D (cf. Aug., *dCD* XX, xvi. *CSEL* xl (2)).
- 51 Bede, *Hex., Ep. ad Accam. PL* cxi, 11 A B.
- 52 Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great*, p. 15.
- 53 Laistner, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede,' in *Bede: His Life, Times and Writings*, ed. Hamilton Thompson, Oxford, 1935, p. 252.
- 54 Victorinus-Jerome: 'primam resurrectionem scilicet promisit. stella enim matutina noctem fugat et lucem adnuntiat, id est diei initium.' *CSEL* xlix, 38, 39; Turin Fragments: 'Ghristus est stella matutina.' Ed. Lo Bue, p. 58; Apringius: '*Et dabo illi stellam matutinam*, id est Dominum Ihesum Christum, quem numquam suscepit vesper, sed lux semper aeterna est, et ipse semper in

- luce est. Item aliter "stellam matutinam" primam resurrectionem repromittit; stellam matutinam quae noctem fugat, et lucem adnuntiat.' Ed. Férotin, p. 21; Primasius: 'Stellam matutinam, et Christum intelligi, et resurrectionem primam convenit accipi, quia et ille apparentis errorum tenebras repulit, et resurrectione properante, mundanae noctis tenebrae fugabuntur. Haec enim stella sicut noctis finem, sic diei praebere videtur initium.' *PL* lxxviii, 809 B C; Bede: 'Christus est stella matutina, qui, nocte saeculi transacta, lucem vitae sanctis promittit et pandit aeternam.' *PL* xciii, 140 B C.
- 55 'Qui ergo, finito praesentis vitae tempore, ad refectionem supernae contemplationis veniunt, profecto ad coenam Agni vocantur.' *PL* xciii, 188 D.
- 56 Bede, *HE* IV, 8. Ed. Plummer, i. p. 221.
- 57 Laistner, 'Library of the Venerable Bede.' See above, *n*<sup>53</sup>.
- 58 See above *n*<sup>48</sup>; also Bede, *PL* xciii, 175 C.
- 59 Ang., *dCD* XX, ix: 'Quae sit porro bestia . . . "in manu" propter operationem' *CSEL* xl (2), 452 = Primasius: 'Quae sit porro bestia . . . in manu propter operationem' *PL* lxxvii, 917 A B = Bede: 'Bestiam sanctus Augustinus impiam civitatem, imaginem vero eius simulationem eius (avis [*sic!*] ed. Giles), fallaci imagine Christianos, characterem autem notam criminis interpretatur, quam adorari, et subiici ei, et consentiri, dicit' *PL* xciii, 175 C. Bede, unlike Primasius, acknowledges the Augustinian source of his quotation. Other citations are *dCD* XX, viii (Primasius 916 A B), Bede 191 D; *dCD* XX, x (Primasius 918 A), Bede 192 C; *dCD* XX, xiv (Primasius 920 A), Bede, 193 C; *dCD* XX, xvi (Primasius 921 C D), Bede, 194 C D.
- 60 Aug., *De Sancta Virginitate*, xxvii, 27. *CSEL* xli, 263, 264; Bede, xciii, 173 D.
- 61 Aug., *In Iohannem Tr.* 36, 5. *PL* xxxv, 1665, 1666; Bede, 144 A B.
- 62 Greg., *Hom. in Ezech.*, I, vii, 20. *PL* lxxvi, 862 D; Bede, 143 A.
- 63 Greg., *Mor. in Iob, Lib. II.* *PL* lxxv, 559 D – 560 A; Bede, 146 C.
- 64 Hier., *Com. in Daniele*, 12. *PL* xxv, 579 B; Bede, 134 C.
- 65 Hier., *Com. in Isai.*, VI, xiii. *PL* xxiv, 208 A.B.; Bede, 176 C.
- 66 Bede: 'Sicut beatus Cyprianus sub Deciana contigisse tempestate conquestus: "Volentibus, inquit, mori, non permittebatur occidi." ' *PL* xciii, 158 B.
- 67 Isidore, *Etymol.*, XVI, vii. *PL* lxxxii, 571 A B; Bede, 198 C.
- 68 Rosemary Cramp, *Early Northumbrian Sculpture* (Jarrow Lecture 1965), p. 5.
- 69 Rufinus, *HE* III, 29. 1–4. *CGS: Eusebius' Werke*, 2er Bd., 1er Teil (1903), pp. 261, 263; Bede, 138 D. The original account is Clement, *Stromateis*, III, iv, 25. *PG* viii, 1129–32.
- 70 Rufinus, *HE* III, 36. 12. *CGS*, p. 279; Bede, 187 B. Bede's phrase: 'beatus Ignatius fertur dixisse' would seem to exclude any possibility of knowledge of the original Ignatian source (*Ad Rom.*, 4).
- 71 Rufinus, *HE* VII, 25.
- 72 Bede, 197 B – 203 B.
- 73 Laistner, 'Library of the Venerable Bede,' p. 243.
- 74 Bede, 172 C.
- 75 Laistner, art. cit., p. 253.
- 76 e.g. Bede, 185 A: 'Duae sunt enim in mundo civitates: una de abyssu, altera de coelestibus oriens.' See above, *n*<sup>15</sup>.
- 77 Bede, 131 B: 'Septem quoque regulas Tychonii, viri inter suos eruditissimi . . . '
- 78 Bede, 132 D, 133 A B.
- 79 Cf. Kamlah, *Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie*, p. 12: 'Beda unternimmt die Arbeit des Primasius noch einmal, er gibt in Ergebnis einen neuen verkirchlichten Tyconius.'



- 80 Bede, 194 A. The Tyconian citation is confirmed by Beatus (ed. Sanders, p. 615) and Caesarius (ed. Morin, pp. 270, 271). Cf. the comment of Augustine, *dCD XX*, xv: 'Hos ergo mortuos exhibuit mare, qui in eo erant, id est, exhibuit homines hoc saeculum, quicumque in eo erant, quia nondum obierant.' *CSEL* xl (2), 463.
  - 81 See the comments of Plummer in his edition of Bede, *HE*, i. pp. lxvi, lxvii.
  - 82 *Hist. Abbat. auctore Baeda*, 6 in Bede, *HE*, ed. Plummer, i. pp. 369, 370.
  - 83 Bede, 145 D: 'Idem Dominus qui Agnus est innocenter moriendo, leo quoque factus est mortem fortiter evincendo. Tychonius agnum Ecclesiam dicit, quae in Christo accepit omnem potestatem.'
  - 84 Bede, 175 C (*dCD XX*, ix), Primasius 917 A; Bede 191 D (*dCD XX*, viii), Primasius 916 A.
  - 85 Bede, 172 C (Primasius 884 A B).
  - 86 Bede, 172 B (Victorinus-Jerome *CSEL* xlix, 125).
  - 87 Bede, 172 C D.
  - 88 See Kamlah, op. cit., pp. 12 – 53.
  - 89 Ibid., pp. 14, 15. Commentaries in *PL* cxvii, 937 C – 1220 D under the name of Haimo of Halberstadt.
  - 90 *PL* clxv, 605 A – 736 C.
  - 91 Kamlah, op. cit., p. 17 n<sup>36</sup>.
  - 92 Bede, 130 D – 131 B.
  - 93 Kamlah, op. cit., pp. 20 – 22.
  - 94 Bede, 138 A; 165 A'; 191 C; 199 D.
  - 95 Bede, *De Temporum Ratione*, 10 (ed. Jones, pp. 201, 202).
  - 96 See Plummer in his edition of Bede, *HE* i. pp. xli, xlii; Manselli, *La "Lectura super Apocalypsim" di Pietro di Giovanni Olivi*, pp. 17 – 19.
  - 97 Aug., *dCD XXII*, xxx. *CSEL* xl (2), 669–70.
  - 98 Isid., *Etymologiae*, V, xxxviii, xxxix. *PL* lxxxii, 223 A – 228 D.
  - 99 Bede, *dTR*, 10: 'Huius sextae aetatis vespera caeteris obscurior in antichristi est persecutione ventura' (ed. Jones, p. 202).
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## APPENDIX

### THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE TYCONIAN PASSAGES IN BEDE'S COMMENTARY

If, when collating the text of Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse with other writers who have made use of Tyconius independently, exact verbal agreement can be found, it may reasonably be assumed that the particular passage represents a verbatim Tyconian citation. Such collation has been made between Bede and the Turin Fragments, Caesarius of Arles (the pseudo-Augustinian homilies), and Beatus of Liebana (since there is no reason to think that Bede had access to the Turin Fragments or to Caesarius, or that Beatus used Bede) and the result has been very rewarding. Exact verbal agreement frequently occurs and, on occasion, two or more of the other commentators each supplies part of a quotation which appears as a whole in Bede. It therefore appears that Bede treated Tyconius as he did Primasius, reproducing whole sections word for word, and one may fairly assume that there is more Tyconian material in Bede than can be revealed by collation. At all events, even when working upon the text by the method of collation, a considerable portion of Tyconius can apparently be recovered. The results of the collation are given below (*Tyconian passages in italics*).

#### EDITIONS USED

Apringius	<i>Apringius de Béja: son commentaire de l'Apocalypse</i> , ed. M. Férotin, Paris, 1900.
Beatus	<i>Beati in Apocalypsim Libri XII</i> , ed. H. A. Sanders (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. VII), 1930.
Bede	<i>Beda's Explanatio Apocalypsis</i> . PL xciii, cols. 129 – 206.
Caesarius	<i>Expositio de Apocalypsi S. Iohannis</i> , ed. G. Morin, S. Caesarii <i>Opera Omnia</i> , Vol. II (Maredsous, 1942), pp. 209 – 77.
Primasius	<i>Primasii Commentariorum super Apocalypsim B. Iohannis Libri V</i> . PL lxxviii, cols. 793 – 936.
Tyconius (T)	<i>The Turin Fragments of Tyconius' Commentary on Revelation</i> (Texts and Studies, N.S., Vol. VII), ed. Francesco Lo Bue, Cambridge, 1963.

Col. 135 A	ECCE VENIT CVM NVBIBVS, etc. <i>Qui iudicandus primo venit occultus, tunc iudicaturus veniet manifestus.</i>
	Beatus 53 Cf Primasius 798 D
136 B	CAPVT AVTEM EIVS ET CAPILLI ERANT CANDIDI, etc. <i>Antiquitas et immortalitas maiestas in capite candor ostenditur.</i>
	Beatus 71
136 C	ET HABEBAT IN DEXTERA SVA STELLAS SEPTEM. <i>In dextera Christi est spiritalis Ecclesia.</i> ASTITIT, inquit, REGINA A DEXTRIS TVIS IN VESTITV DEAVRATO. <i>Cui astanti ad dexteram dicit: 'Venite, benedicti Patris mei, percipite regnum.'</i>
	Caesarius 213 Beatus 76
138 B	ET HABEBITIS TRIBVLATIONEM DIEBV DECEM. <i>Totum tempus significat, in quo Decalogi sunt necessaria mandata.</i>
	Caesarius 217 Beatus 188
139 A	ET DABO ILLI CALCVLVM CANDIDVM. <i>Id est, corpus nunc baptismo candidatum.</i>
	Caesarius 217 Beatus 200
139 C	ET SEDVCERE SERVOS MEOS, FORNICARI, etc. <i>Utique sub Christi nomine fornicationem et idolatriam spiritalem docebat. Nam quomodo aperte idolorum culturam doceret, quae in Ecclesia prophetam se dicebat?</i>
	T 49, 50

- 140 A QVI NON COGNOVERVNT ALTITVDINES SATANAE, etc. Sic et qui operantur iniquitatem, non cognoscunt Deum, licet ipsum praedicent. Hoc modo et Deus, licet omnes noverit, non cognoverit operarios iniquitatis.  
T 55 Beatus 213
- 140 B QVI ENIM VICERIT FALSA, ET MEA IVSSA CVSTODIERIT, etc. In Christo habet Ecclesia hanc potestatem tanquam corpus in capite.  
T 57 Caesarius 218 cf Primasius 809 B  
ET DABO ILLI STELLAM MATVTINAM. Christus est stella matutina.  
T 58 Beatus 99 (cf Beatus 215 Apringius 21: id est, Dominum Iesum Christum, quem numquam suscepit vesper, sed lux sempiterna est, et ipse semper in luce est).
- 141 A HAEC DICIT SANCTVS ET VERVS QVI HABET CLAVEM DAVID. Id est regiam potestatem.  
T 63 Caesarius 218 Beatus 213 cf Primasius 810 A  
QVIA MODICAM HABES VIRTVTVM, etc. Causam ostendit, quod ideo haec dona promereatur Ecclesia, quia non in suis viribus, sed in regis Christi gratia confidit, lausque est protegentis Dei et devotionis Ecclesiae quod modicae fidei aperiatur ostium vincendi, et quod modica virtus fide roboretur.  
T 64 Caesarius 218 Beatus 235
- 141 B ECCE DABO DE SYNAGOGA SATANAE, QVI DICVNT SE IVDAEOS ESSE ET NON SVNT. Hoc omni Ecclesiae tunc promisit, quia non Philadelphiae tantum crediderint ex Synagoga Iudaeorum, sicut in Actibus Apostolorum invenimus  
T 65
- 141 C ECCE VENIO CITO. TENE, QVOD HABES, etc. Ne tolerando lassescas. Cito enim auxiliabor, ne forte, te deficiente, alius tibi decretam accipiat mercedem. Sic sanctorum numerum, qui apud Deum fixus est, impossibile est zizaniorum crescentium perfidia breviri. Si enim corona alteri tradatur amissa, non vacat locus eius qui quod tenebat amisit.  
T 70, 69
- 141 D ET NOMEN MEVM NOVVM. Hoc est nomen Christianum, non quod novum sit istud Filio Dei, qui hanc habuit claritatem antequam mundus fieret, sed novum Filio hominis qui fuit mortuus et resurrexit et sedet ad dexteram Dei.  
T 73, 74
- 142 B AEMVLARE ERGO ET POENITENTIAM AGE. Ostendit fuisse, illic, qui aemulandi sequendique fuissent.  
T 77
- 142 D POST HAEC VIDI, ET ECCE OSTIVM APERTVM IN CAELO. Descriptis Ecclesiae operibus, quae et qualis futura esset, recapitulat a Christi nativitate, eadem aliter dicturus. Totum enim tempus Ecclesiae variis in hoc libro figuris repetit.  
T 79, 80
- 145 C ET NEMO POTERAT IN CAELO, NEQVE IN TERRA, etc. Neque angelus, neque ullus iustorum etiam carnis vinculo absolutus mysteria divinae legis revelare vel investigare potuerunt, neque respicere illum, id est, contemplari splendorem gratiae Novi Testamenti.  
Caesarius 222 Beatus 326
- 147 A ET EXIVIT ALIVS EQVVS RVFVS. Contra vitricem vincentemque Ecclesiam exiit equus rufus, id est, populus sinister, ex sessore suo diabolo sanguinolentus. Quamvis legerimus apud Zachariam equum Domini refum; sed ille suo sanguine rufo, hic alieno.  
Caesarius 224 Beatus 335



- 149 A ET REGES TERRAE ET PRINCIPES ET TRIBVNI. *Reges potentes homines accipimus. Ex omni enim gradu et conditione vult intelligi. Caeterum, qui tunc reges praeter unum persecutorem, 'absconderunt se in speluncis et in petris montium.'*  
Caesarius 227, 228 Beatus 354 cf Primasius 840 B
- 155 A Alia editio habet *Super aram*  
T 86 (and cf. 23 n<sup>1</sup>)  
ET DATA SVNT ILLI INCENSA MVLTA, etc. *De orationibus sanctorum obtulerit incensa. Ipsi enim delegavit Ecclesia preces suas.*  
T 88 Beatus 408
- 155 C ET SEPTEM ANGELI, QVI HABENT SEPTEM TVBAS, PARAVERVNT SE VT TVBA CANERENT. *Ecclesia, septiformi spiritu inflammata, se ad praedicandum fiducialiter praeparavit.*  
T 90 Caesarius 230 Beatus 409 cf Primasius 657 A
- 155 D ET FACTA EST GRANDO ET IGNIS, MIXTA SANGVINE, etc. . . . Hunc versum Tychonius sic exponit: '*facta est ira Dei, quae haberet in se multorum necem.*'  
Caesarius 230 Beatus 409, 410
- 156 A Tychonius de tertia parte sic in hoc loco inquit. Tertiam hostes intestinos dicit. Caeterum quidquid praeter Ecclesiam est, tertia pars dicta est, et Ecclesia tertia, quae contra geminum malum pugnet.  
Cf T 91 Caesarius 230 Beatus 230 Primasius 857
- 156 C ET MORTVA EST TERTIA PARS EORVM, QVAE HABEBANT ANIMAS IN MARI. Quas habent animas dixit, *ut ostenderet vivos spiritaliter mortuos.*  
Caesarius 230 Beatus 416 cf Primasius 858 A
- 156 C ET TERTIA PARS NAVIVM INTERIIT. Alia editio dicendo '*et tertiam partem navium corruperunt*' significat quod tertia, quae mortua est, aliam *tertiam*, id est, *succedentem sibi*, occiderit noxia traditione, et inutilis imitatione doctrinae.  
Beatus 416 cf Caesarius 230 Primasius 858 A
- 156 D – 157 A ET DIEI NON LV CERET PARS TERTIA, ET NOCTIS SIMILITER. Alia editio sic habet: '*Et diei tertia pars appareret et noctis similiter.*' Id est, *ad hoc percussa est ut appareret tertia pars diei et tertia noctis, quae Christi et quae diaboli.* Ad hoc, inquam, percussa est, id est, suis voluntatibus tradita, *ut, redundantibus et insolescentibus peccatis, in suo tempore revelaretur.*  
T 96, 97 Caesarius 230, 231 cf Beatus 419 Primasius 859 B
- 158 C ET SVPER CAPITA EARVM TANQVAM CORONAE SIMILES AVRO. *Seniores viginti quatuor, qui sunt Ecclesia, coronas aureas habent. Isti autem similes auro falsos sibi fingentes de victoria stulta triumphos.*  
T 107 Beatus 427, 428 Caesarius 233
- 159 B *Euphrates enim, qui fluvius est Babyloniae, mundani regni potentiam et persecutorum indicat undas.*  
T 114, 115 Beatus 430 cf Primasius 860 B
- 160 A ET DE ORE IPSORVM PROCEDIT IGNIS ET FVMVS ET SVLPVVR. *Ostendit quod pro fumo hyacinthum dixerat. Non autem perspicue ista exeunt de ore ipsorum, sed noxia praedicatione poenam sibi suisque generant auditoribus.*  
T 120 Beatus 433 cf Primasius 862 B  
POTESTAS ENIM EQVORVM IN ORE, ET IN CAVDIS EORVM. *Id est in sermone et officio: propheta enim docens mendacium, ipse est cauda.*  
T 121 Beatus 434

- 160 B ET CAETERI HOMINES QVI NON SVNT OCCISI IN HIS  
PLAGIS, etc. Quia falsos Christianos et hereticos descripserat,  
nunc, ut corpus omne diaboli circumscribat, gentilium quoque  
commemorat errorem, quibus nihil prodest *his plagis non occidi*,  
*cum constet eos in gentili tunc quoque perdurare malitia. Neque*  
*enim in illa persecutione cogentur gentiles supradictis consentire sed*  
*in sua incredulitate morientur.*  
T 123 Beatus 434, 436
- 161 B Quod utrumque apud Daniele uno versiculo comprehenditur,  
cui per angelum dicitur: *Signa librum et claude sermonem usque ad*  
*tempus statutum.*  
T 133 Beatus 441
- 161 D ET DIXIT MIHI: ACCIPE LIBRVM, ET DEVORA ILLVM.  
*Id est, inserte tuis visceribus et describe in latitudine cordis tui. ET*  
*FIACIET AMARICARI VENTREM TVVM, etc. Cum perceperis,*  
*oblectaberis divini eloquii dulcedine, sed amaritudinem senties, cum*  
*praedicare et operari coeperis quod intellexeris.*  
T 137, 138 Caesarius 238 Beatus 442, 443.
- 162 A, B SVRGE ET METIRE TEMPLVM DEI ET ALTARE. SVRGE  
dixit, non quia *haec Iohannes sedibundus audiebat*, sed quia hoc  
verbo excitantur corda singulorum evangelicam Scripturam  
actusque metiri. Ibi enim quantum singuli proficiant, quantumque  
regulae divinae concordent, inveniunt. ET ADORANTES IN  
EO. *Quia non omnes qui videntur, in eo adorant, sicut qui confessus*  
*fuerit in me.*  
T 140 Caesarius 238 Beatus 443
- 162 C SACCIS AMICTI. *Id est, in exomologesi constituti.*  
T 144 Caesarius 239 Beatus 446
- 162 D HI SVNT DVAE OLIVAE, etc. Ecclesia duorum Testamen-  
torum lumine radiata, Domini semper iussis assistit *Nam et*  
*propheta Zacharias unum candelabrum vidit septiforme, et has duas*  
*olivas, id est testamenta, infundere oleum candelabro. Haec est*  
*Ecclesia cum oleo suo indiciente, quod eam facit in lumine orbis*  
*ardere. ET SI QVIS EOS VOLVIT NOCERE, IGNIS EXIET*  
*DE ORE ILLORVM, etc. Si quis Ecclesiam laedit, eiusdam*  
*laesionis reciprocante iudicio igne consumitur condemnatus.*  
T 146, 148 Caesarius 239 Beatus 446, 447 cf Primasius 867 A, B
- 163 B ET CVM FINIERINT TESTIMONIUM SVVM, BESTIA, etc.  
*Aperte ostendit omnia haec ante novissimam persecutionem fieri*  
*dicendo 'Cum finierint testimonium suum,' utique illud quod*  
*perhibent usque ad revelationem bestiae, quae cordibus emersura*  
*est impiorum.*  
T 152, 153 Caesarius 239 cf. Primasius 867 D
- 163 B, C ET VINCET EOS ET OCCIDET ILLOS. *Vincet in eis qui*  
*succuberint, occidet in eis qui pro Christi nomine laudabili patientia*  
*fuerint interempti. Aut si spiritaliter vincet et occidet, partem*  
*testium accipiemus. Sicut in Evangelio Dominus dicit: 'Tradent*  
*vos in pressuram et occident vos.' Quod Lucas evangelista pro parte*  
*dictum insinuat dicens: 'Occident ex vobis.'*  
T 153, 154 Caesarius 239 Beatus 449 cf Primasius 867 D –  
868 A
- 163 D – 164 B ET CORPORA NON SINENT PONI IN MONVMENTIS.  
*Votum eorum dixit et impugnationem. Non quod valeant ne sit*  
*Ecclesia in memoriam. Sicut: 'Nec vos intratis, nec alios sinitis*  
*intrare,' cum intrent, illis impugnantibus. Faciunt autem perspicue*  
*de vivorum occisorumque corporibus, quia nec vivos sinent cele-*  
*brando in memoriam colligi, nec occisos in memoriam recitari, nec*  
*eorum corpora in memoriam Dei testium sepeliri. ET HABITAN-*  
*TES TERRAM GAVDEBANT SVPER EOS. Quoties affliguntur*  
*iusti, exsultant iniusti et epulantur, sicut, dum superbit impius,*

incenditur pauper. QVONIAM HI DVO PROPHETAE CRVCIAVERVNT EOS. *Propter plagas quibus propter testamenta Dei humanum genus urgetur, etiam visus ipse iustorum gravat iniustos. Sicut ipsi dicunt: 'Gravis est nobis etiam ad videndum' ET POST TRES DIES ET DIMIDIVM, SPIRITVS VITAE A DEO etc. Hucusque angelus futurum narravit, et nunc inducit factum quod futurum audit, regno Antichristi perduto, sanctos resurrexisse in gloriam. ET TIMOR MAGNVS CECIDIT SVPER EOS QVI VIDERVNT EOS. De omnibus vivis dixit, quia et iusti superstites pertimescent in resurrectione dormientium. ET ASCENDERVNT IN CAELVM IN NVBE. Hoc est quod Apostolus dixit: 'Rapiemur in nubibus obviam Domino in aera.'* ET VIDERVNT ILLOS INIMICI EORVM. *Hic separavit iniustos ab his quos in commune dixerat timuisse. ET ILLA HORA FACTVS EST TERRAE MOTVS MAGNVS, etc. Incumbente terrore iudicii, omnis diaboli civitas super arenam condita cum omnibus aedificationibus suis corruet. Et denarius et spetenarius numerus est perfectus. Quod si non esset, a parte totum intelligendum erat.*  
T 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 166, 164, 167–68 Caesarius 240  
Beatus 450–53 cf Primasius 868 B – 870 C

- 165 C ET FACTA SVNT FVLGVRA ET VOCES, etc. *Haec omnia virtutes sunt coruscationis et praedicationis, et bellorum Ecclesiae.*  
T 177 Caesarius 241 Beatus 457 cf Primasius 872 B, C
- 166 B ET ECCE DRACO MAGNVS RVFVS, etc. *Diabolus saevitia cruentus contra Ecclesiam potentia terreni regni armatur. In septem enim capitibus omnes reges suos et in decem cornibus omne regnum dicit.*  
Caesarius 242 Beatus 462 cf T 182
- 166 D ET PEPERIT PVERVM MASCVLVM. *Semper Ecclesia, dracone licet adversante, Christum parit. Masculum autem dicit victorem diaboli qui feminam vicerat.*  
Caesarius 242
- 168 D ET IRATVS EST DRACO IN MVLIEREM, etc. *Videns non posse continuari persecutiones quod ore sanctae terrae avertantur, magis se armavit mysterio facinoris insistere, quo possit iugiter insidiari.*  
Caesarius 244 Primasius 878 B
- 169 A ET STETIT SVPER ARENAM MARIS. *Id est, super multitudinem populi, quem proiicit ventus a facie terrae.*  
Caesarius 244 Beatus 471
- 169 B ET BESTIA QVAM VIDI, SIMILIS ERAT PARDO, etc. *Pardo, propter varietatem gentium; urso, propter malitiam et vesaniam; leoni, propter virtutem corporis et linguae superbiam simulatur.*  
Caesarius 248 Beatus 475, 476 Primasius 878 D
- 170 A ET DATVM EST ILLI BELLVM FACERE CVM SANCTIS, etc. *A toto partem. Quae vinci potest, cum violentia temporis, si fieri potest, etiam electi quatientur. Ut condemnentur Iudaei, qui, non credens veritati, susceperunt mendacium. ET ADORAVERVNT EAM OMNES QVI HABITANT TERRAM. Omnes dixit, sed habitantes terram.*  
Caesarius 246 Beatus 480
- 170 D ET VIDI ALIAM BESTIAM ASCENDENTEM DE TERRA. *Aliam dixit de officio. Alias una est. Quod est autem mare, hoc teste Daniele, est terra. Cui quatuor bestias ascendere de mari cernenti per angelum dicitur: 'Hae quatuor bestiae magnae, quatuor regna consurgent de terra.'*  
Caesarius 246



- 172 A HABERE CHARACTEREM IN DEXTERA MANV AVT IN FRONTIBVS. Character est mysterium iniquitatis, quod *hypocritae sub nomine Christi in opere et professione accipiunt*.  
Caesarius 246 Beatus 494
- 173 A HABENTIA NOMEN EIVS ET NOMEN PATRIS SCRIPTVM IN FRONTIBVS SVIS. Ostendit *quae sit imitatio notae in fronte corporis bestiae, dum Deum et Christum dicit scriptos in frontibus Ecclesiae*.  
Caesarius 248 Beatus 510
- 174 B Hanc visionem Tychonius non de virginibus specialiter, sed de tota generaliter interpretatur Ecclesia, quam despondit Apostolus 'uni viro virginem castam exhibere Christo,' ita concludens: '*Non dixit, Non fuit in ore eorum mendacium, sed non est inventum. Sicut Apostolus dicit: "Et haec quidem fuistis aliquando, sed lavati estis."* Et iniquitas iniusti non nocebit ei; qua die conversus fuerit ab iniquitate sua, et poterit esse virgo, et dolus in ore eius non inveniri.
- Caesarius 248 Beatus 511
- 177 B ET EXIIT SANGVIS DE LACV, etc. Exiit ultio usque ad rectores populorum. *Usque enim ad diabolum et eius angelos novissimo certamine exiit ultio sanguinis sanctorum effusi*.  
Caesarius 249 Beatus 524 cf Primasius 890 B
- 178 A PER STADIA MILLE SEXCENTA. *Id est, per omnes quatuor mundi partes. Quaternitas enim est conquatrenata, sicut in quatuor faciebus quadriformibus et rotis. Quater enim quadringenteni, mille sexcenti*.  
Caesarius 249 Beatus 524 Primasius 890 C
- 178 D ET VNVM EX QVATVOR ANIMALIBVS DEDIT SEPTEM ANGELIS, etc. *Istae sunt phialae quas cum odoribus ferunt animalia et seniores, qui sunt Ecclesia, qui et septem angeli*.  
Caesarius 250 Beatus 530
- 181D – 182 D Hactenus sub plagarum nomine persecutio novissima describitur, quas Tychonius omnes a contrario vult intelligi. Plaga est, inquit, insanabilis, et ira magna accipere potestatem peccandi maxime in sanctos, nec corripi adhuc maiore ira Dei. Proventus enim beatudinis malorum mors est, sicut e contrario tormenta et humiliatio Ecclesiae claritas est. Nam ipso tempore illaesus erit omnis populus impius ab omni plaga corporis, quasi qui acceperit totam saeviendi potestatem. Nec opus erit tunc adimptione peccatorum, et irae consummatione aliquem malorum flagellari, et a furore compesci. *Recapitulat ab eadem persecutione ruinam describens impiae civitatis*.  
Caesarius 253 Beatus 551.
- 183 A HABENTEM CAPITA SEPTEM ET CORNVA DECEM. *Id est, habentem reges mundi et regna, quorum et Domino gloriam in monte monstravit*.  
Caesarius 256 Beatus 558
- 183 A, B ET INAVRATA AVRO ET LAPIDE PRETIOSO ET MARGARITIS. *Id est omnibus illecebris simulatae veritatis. Quid sit denique intra hanc pulchritudinem, exponit, dicens HABENS POCVLVM AVREVM, etc. Aureum poculum plenum immunditiarum hypocrisis est, quia hypocritae foris quidem parent hominibus quasi iusti, intus autem pleni sunt omni spurcitia*.  
Caesarius 256 Beatus 558
- 183 B, C ET VIDI MVLIEREM EBRIAM DE SANGVINE SANCTORVM, etc. *Unum est corpus adversum intus ac foris: quod licet videatur loco separatum, in commune tamen, unitate spiritus operatur. Sic pronepotes pravorum sensu Zechariam lapidasse accusantur, cum ipsi non fecerint*.  
Caesarius 257 Beatus 559

- 185 A *Duae sunt enim in mundo civitates: una de abyssu, altera de coelestibus oriens.*  
cf Beatus 575: 'hae duae civitates una mundo, et una desiderat servire Christo; una in hoc mundo regnum cupit tenere, et una ab hoc mundo fugere; una tristatur, altera laetatur; una flagellat, altera flagellatur; una occidit, altera occiditur; una ut iustificetur adhuc, altera ut impie agat adhuc. hae utraque ita laborant in unum, una ut habeat unde coronetur, altera ut habeat unde damnetur.'
- 185 C REDDITE ILLI SICVT IPSA REDDIDIT VOBIS. *De Ecclesia enim exeunt in mundum plagae visibiles et invisibiles.*  
Caesarius 262 Beatus 581
- 186 A LONGE STANTES PROPTER TIMOREM TORMENTORVM EIVS. *Longe stantes non corpore, sed animo, dum unusquisque sibi timet, quod alterum per calumnias et potentiam pati videt. DICENTES: VAE, VAE, CIVITAS ILLA MAGNA BABYLON, etc. Spiritus dicit nomen civitatis; verum illi mundum plangunt exiguo admodum tempore poena interceptum, omnemque industriam labefactatam cessare.*  
Caesarius 262, 263 Beatus 582
- 186 B Iumentorum porro et Mancipiorum vocabulo caetera humanitatis auxilia perire quaeruntur; *duplici genera, ut dixi, quod deficient ista mundo moriente, vel quod miseri superstites eorum interitum qui mundi gaudia morte relinquerunt quasi suae civitatis ruinas deplorent, qui et ideo, metu poenae similis, longe stare dicuntur.*  
Beatus 582
- 186 C, D QVAE AMICTA ERAT BYSSINO ET PURPVRA ET COCO. *Nunquid civitas amicitur bysso aut purpura, et non homines? Ipsi itaque se plangunt, dum supradictis expoliantur. ET OMNIS GUBERNATOR ET NAVTAE LONGE STETERVNT, etc. Nunquid omnes mare navigantes adesse poterunt ut videant incendium civitatis? Sed omnes saeculi cultores et operarios dicit timere sibi, videntes spei suae ruinam DICENTES: QVAE EST SIMILIS CIVITATI HVIC MAGNAE? Id est, non posse mundum in integrum restitui.*  
Caesarius 263 Beatus 583
- 187 C ET IN EA SANGVIS PROPHETARVM ET SANCTORVM INVENTVS EST, est. *Nunquid eadem civitas occidit apostolos, quae et prophetas, aut omnes sanctos? Sed haec est civitas quam Cain fratris sui sanguine fundavit, et vocavit nomine filii sui Enoch, id est, posteritatis suae omnis. Nam septem generationes descriptae sunt Cain. In cuius civitatis aedificium 'funditur omnis sanguis iustus a sanguine Abel iusti usque ad sanguinem Zachariae,' id est, populi et sacerdotis.*  
Caesarius 266 Beatus 585 cf Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, XV, xvii cf Primasius 901 A
- 187 D POST HAEC AVDIVI QVASI VOCEM MAGNAM TVBARVM MVLTARVM IN CAELO DICENTIVM: ALLELVIA, etc. *Haec nunc ex parte dicit Ecclesia; tunc autem perfecte cum discessio facta fuerit, et cum apertius vindicata.*  
Caesarius 268 Beatus 587
- 188 A ET FVMVS EIVS ASCENDIT IN SAECVLA SAECVLORVM. ASCENDIT dixit, *non ascendet. Semper autem in perditionem vadit Babylon, et iam crematur in parte, sicut Ierusalem transit in paradisum, Domino manifestante in paupere et divite.*  
Caesarius 268
- 188 C ET DATVM EST ILLI, VT COOPERIAT SE BYSSINO SPLENDEnte CANDIDO. *Datum est illi factis suis indui.*  
Caesarius 269

- 189 B ET IN CAPITE EIVS DIADEMATA MVLTa. In quo faciemus virtutem, in ipso multitudo sanctorum coronatum dicitur habere decorem. HABENS NOMEN SCRIPTUM QVOD NEMO NOVIT NISI IPSE. Nisi ipse, sit, quia in illo est omnis Ecclesia. Caesarius 264
- 189 D ET EXERCITVS QVI SVNT IN CAELO, SEQVEBANTVR EVM IN EQVIS ALBIS. Id est, Ecclesia in corporibus candidis imitabatur eum, quae propter agonem certaminis sui iure nomen accipit exercitus. Caesarius 264 Beatus 592
- 190 A, B ET IPSE CALCAT TORCVLAR VINI FVRORIS ET IRAE DEI OMNIPOTENTIS. Calcat enim nunc quoque, donec extra civitatem calcet. ET HABET IN VESTIMENTO ET IN FEMORE SVO SCRIPTVM: REX REGVM ET DOMINVS DOMINANTIVM. Hoc est nomen quod nemo superborum cognoscit. Ecclesiae autem non atramento sed spiritu Dei vivi, in tabulis scilicet cordis inscribitur. Femore autem posteritas seminis designatur. Unde et Abraham, ne posteritas eius alienigenis misceretur, inter se servumque suum tertium [leg. certum] testimonium femur adhibuit. Caesarius 264 Beatus 593 cf Primasius 913 A
- 190 B, C ET VIDI VNVM ANGELVM STANTEM IN SOLE, etc. Id est, praedicationem in Ecclesia, quae quanto magis premitur, tanto lucet clarius, et liberior intonat. Caesarius 265 cf Primasius 913 B
- 191 A Hanc coenam Tychonius sic exponit: 'Omni tempore comedit Ecclesia carnes inimicorum suorum, dum comeditur ab eis, satiabitur autem in resurrectione de eorum carnali opere vindicata.' Beatus 598
- 191 D ET VIDI SEDES, ET SEDERVNT SVPER EAS, etc. Quid in istis mille annis quibus diabolus ligatus est agatur indicat. Ecclesia enim, quae sedebit, in Christo super duodecim thronos ad iudicandum iam sedet, iudicans, quae a suo rege meruit audire: 'Quaecunque ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in caelo.' Beatus 603
- 192 B, C HAEC EST, inquit, RESVRRECTIO PRIMA. Utique qua resurgimus per baptismum, sicut Apostolus dicit: 'Si consurrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt quaerite.' Sicut enim prima mors in hac vita est per peccata, cum anima quae peccaverit ipsa morietur, ita et prima resurrectio in hac vita est per remissionem peccatorum. BEATVS ET SANCTVS, etc. Id est, qui servaverit quod renatus est. Caesarius 269 Beatus 605
- 192 C ET REGNABVNT CVM CHRISTO MILLE ANNIS. Retulit Spiritus, cum haec scriberet, regnaturam Ecclesiam mille annos, id est, usque ad finem mundi. De perpetuo enim regno manifestum est. ET CVM CONSVMMATI FVERINT MILLE ANNI, etc. Consummatos dixit a toto partem, nam sic solvetur ut supersint anni tres et menses sex novissimi certaminis. Sed praeter hunc tropum recte dicitur finitum tempus. Non enim computandae sunt tam exiguae reliquiae, cum septingenti et quot Deus voluerit anni hora ab apostolo appellati sint. Caesarius 269, 270 Beatus 605, 606
- 193 D ET IVDICATI SVNT MORTVI EX HIS, etc. Id est, ex Testamentis iudicati sunt secundum quod ex eis fecerunt aut non fecerunt. Caesarius 270 Beatus 615

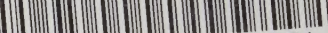


- 194 A Quod Tychonius sic exponit: '*Gentes quas hic inveniet vivos, ipsi sunt mortui maris. ET MORS ET INFERNVS DEDERVNT MORTVOS SVOS, ipsae sunt gentes sepultae*'.  
Caesarius, 270, 271 Beatus 616
- 195 D – 196 A LVMEN EIVS SIMILI LAPIDI PRETIOSO. *Lapis pretiosus Christus est*, qui ait: '*Claritatem quam dedisti mihi, dedi eis.*'  
Caesarius 273 Beatus 623
- 203 C ET CIVITAS NON EGET SOLE NEQVE LVNA VT LVCEANT IN EA. *Quia non lumine aut elementis mundi regitur Ecclesia, sed Christo aeterno sole deduci per mundi tenebras.*  
Caesarius 274
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